

Transformation of Cagayan de Oro 1945-1980: from a traditional town to an urban centre

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Abstract

This study is an urban history of Cagayan de Oro (Northern Mindanao, Philippines), a city in a developing region, which faced urban transformation from the end of WWII in 1945 to 1980. It employed a multidisciplinary approach wherein the city's demographic, economic and infrastructural changes were analyzed. The study revealed that Cagayan had grown and transformed from a traditional town into an urban centre whereby its demography had continuously expanded with high rates of natural increase and large streams of in-migrants; while its economic activities had shifted from agricultural production to commerce and industrialization. Its economic transition was due to the promotion of Cagayan as the "Gateway to the South" or "Gateway to Northern Mindanao" by the deciding elites who were part of the transnational economic system that supplied resources to the developed countries such as the United States and Japan. As a result, the growth of Cagayan was not directed towards the masses but instead to the elites and their foreign allies. Cagayan experienced inertia in terms of infrastructural development. Therefore the absorption of foreign structures resulted to an artificial form of urban transformation in Cagayan.

Introduction

In the last three decades the number of Philippine urban centres has more than doubled—from 61 cities in 1977 to 136 cities in the third quarter of 2007. There was an increase by 75 cities or by 123% over a span of thirty years. In 2007 Luzon had 64 cities; Visayas had 39; and Mindanao, 33. The classification of the cities has, as well, become diversified. Out of the 136 cities identified in 2007, four were classified as Independent Component Cities, 100 as Component Cities and thirty-two as Highly Urbanized Cities.¹

In the island of Mindanao, the region of Northern Mindanao has the highest number of cities. There were nine (9) cities in Northern Mindanao in 2007. Among the cities in the province of Misamis Oriental Cagayan de Oro is the only urban centre classified as a Highly Urbanized City.² This recognition encouraged this researcher to study the causes of Cagayan's urban growth that eventually catapulted the city as the capital in Northern Mindanao. This study focuses on the

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period from 1945 to 1980 when Cagayan experienced the turning point and eventual take-off to modernity.

The study of Cagayan's transformation from a town to a city calls for the application of urban history, a branch of history which places the city as the nucleus of history. Urban history utilizes a multidisciplinary approach to the study of the city. Its analysis includes the city's economy, demography and politics. This study attempts to answer the questions as to why Cagayan changed from a traditional town,³ to an urban center,⁴ and what factors enabled the transformation of Cagayan. Specifically, it aims to:

1. Present the urban condition of Cagayan prior to WWII.
2. Analyze the transition of Cagayan from a traditional town to an urban centre
3. Establish the drivers that contributed to the growth and transformation of Cagayan in terms of its
 - a. Demographic parameters
 - b. Economic parameters
 - c. Infrastructural parameters
4. Indicate the internal and external forces that facilitated the growth and transformation of Cagayan into the "Gateway of the South"⁵

Pre-WWII Cagayan

The prevailing urban condition of Cagayan preceding the Second World War indicated political, demographic, economic and infrastructural vibrancy. The town's old name was Cagayan de Misamis.⁶ It was a municipality which was headed by a municipal mayor who presided over the municipal council. These town officials were appointed by the American Insular Government in the Philippines, which existed between 1902 and 1935. Some officials were of Filipino-American descent who took marriage with local brides in Cagayan. They later grew into prominent landowners and entrepreneurs in the city. Captain Eugene Barton, John Charles Chaloner and George M. Wilkom are some of the American officials who chose to remain in Cagayan.⁷

In 1903 Cagayan had a population of 21,179 when the first Philippine census was conducted. It rose to 28,062 in 1918. There was an increase of 6,883 within fifteen years. In 1939, it further expanded to 48,084 an increase from 1918 of 20,022, or nearly double. The expansion was the result of improved peace and order situation, medical facilities, in-migration and natural growth. The economy of Cagayan depended on agricultural production and a bustling seaport. The infrastructures such as roads, electric supply, plaza and school buildings also laid the foundation

for a thriving town. Prior to the Second World War Father Miguel Bernad, S.J. beautifully portrayed Cagayan as

. . . a lovely little town in northern Mindanao. It had a good cathedral, a rectory, a fine bishop's house. It had a Jesuit school for boys (the Ateneo de Cagayan) with good concrete buildings. It also had a school for girls, Lourdes College. There was a hospital. And of course the numerous homes and the shops along the tree-lined streets of a well-planned city.⁸

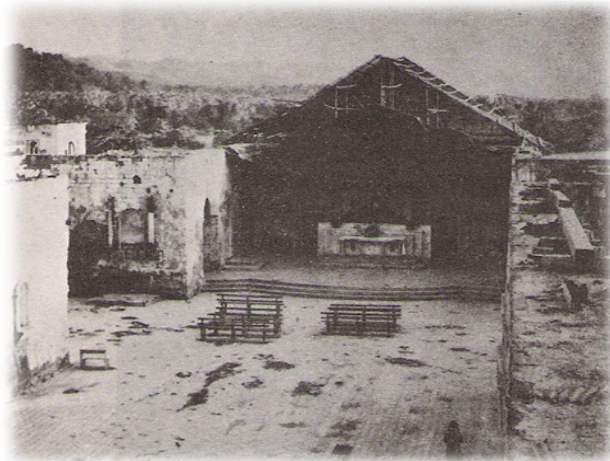


Figure 1. The ruins of St. Augustine Cathedral in 1945.
(Source: Antonio J. Montalvan II, "The Recollect Stone of San Agustin in Cagayan de Misamis," *Kinaadman Journal* 29 (2007), Cagayan de Oro: Xavier University Ateneo de Cagayan, 147).

WWII Cagayan, Reconstruction and Transformation

Cagayan was heavily affected during the Second World War from 1942-1945. The cathedral of Saint Augustine, for example, was blasted in 1945. The residents of Cagayan, however, were able to rebuild from scratch, even though American, Japanese and other reparations were not generous - it has been said, for example, of America's war reparation for the Philippines that "only a fraction was actually paid,"⁹. After the war, Cagayan was transformed.

In June 15, 1950 Cagayan became a chartered city. Its name was changed from Cagayan de Misamis to Cagayan de Oro. The city's chief executive was the city mayor who together with the other officials enacted the ordinances, motions and resolutions.¹⁰

The growth of infrastructures alongside demographic and economic expansion paved the change of the city. The following sections will show how the city grew in terms of infrastructural, demographic and economic quantity.

INFRASTRUCTURAL PROJECTS

The infrastructural projects in Cagayan were not wholly intended for the common masses. The infrastructural programs which ranged from the power supply to public transportation were inadequate to service the citizens. Thus inertia occurred wherein the city experienced the inability to grow sufficiently.

Power Supply

The sole power supplier of Cagayan was the Cagayan Electric Power and Light Company or CEPALCO which purchased power supply from the National Power Corporation (NPC) that was linked to the Maria Cristina hydro-electric plant in Iligan City. Since the franchise of the operation of CEPALCO started in 1931, the residents complained endlessly with its deficient and unsatisfactory services. There were 506 residents who protested against CEPALCO in 1953.¹¹

If CEPALCO could not serve some areas due to difficulties, it yielded to other entities like the NPC, Misamis Oriental Rural Electric Cooperative, Incorporated (MORESCO) or Philippine Packing Corporation (PPC). In 1972, MORESCO extended its power lines to the barrios of Pagatpat, Canitoan, Baikingon, San Simon and to all other rural barrios in Cagayan because CEPALCO failed to provide electricity to these places.¹²

Even if CEPALCO could tap from other power suppliers, it still could not meet the increasing demand for electricity. In 1978, the company sent out an open letter to its customers admitting it could not stabilize the fluctuating voltage since it was “inherent in a system like CEPALCO.”¹³

In 1978 CEPALCO increased its electric rates as dictated by NPC. The NPC insisted on this mandate in order to pay its foreign loans which were already due. As a consequence the burden of paying for the foreign loans was passed on to the customers.¹⁴

Water Supply

During the fifties and sixties water was largely sourced from the artesian wells, springs, and rivers in Cagayan particularly in the rural barrios. The inhabitants complained of drinking unsanitary water most of the time. In the *población*, the residents drew water from the sole water tank.¹⁵

As the population rapidly increased the city government turned over the operation of the waterworks system of the city to the National Waterworks and Sewerage Authority (NAWASA) in 1956.¹⁶ Further improvement was effected when a feasibility study was conducted to improve the water system of the city in 1972 under the sponsorship of USAID. In 1973 the Cagayan de Oro

Waterworks District (COWD) assumed the control from NAWASA. The construction of water supply systems started in 1976 and finished in 1978. However, the project did not result much in the improvement in the living standard for the masses because it was primarily intended for the industrialization of Cagayan which transnational corporations would further occupy. The construction of water pipe lines from the city to the towns of Tagoloan, Villanueva and Jasaan paved the way for the occupation by industrial factories, but the new high technology water system only resulted in increased cost for the residents; while some rural areas still ran short of water.¹⁷

Roads

Road construction in Cagayan had been lethargic, particularly during the fifties and sixties. The total length of paved roads in 1955 was 81.174 kilometers.¹⁸ Four years later in 1959 it increased to 92.331 kilometers, an increase of 11.157 kilometers or 14 % within four years.¹⁹ Conversely, by 1968, the length of paved roads added up to 103.061 kilometers, an increase of only 10.73 kilometers or 12 %.²⁰ After nine years there had barely been an improvement.

The construction of roads improved during the seventies. In 1972 the length of paved roads totaled to 113.2838 kilometers.²¹ By 1974 it instantly increased to 209.494 kilometers.²² It soared by 96.2102 kilometers or 85% within just two years. Throughout this period concrete-paved highways linking Cagayan to other cities and provinces in Northern Mindanao were built. The Iligan-Cagayan-Butuan super-highway was started in 1972 and finished in 1978. The fund of this project which amounted to \$22 million was loaned from the Asian Development Bank.²³ Despite these improvements, Cagayan itself remained backward. Many roads in the rural areas were impassable and people were forced to navigate through the rivers to bring their products in the city market.

Public Transportation

The *tartanillas* or horse-drawn carriages were the most prolific form of public transportation for long or short trips within Cagayan. The popularity of the *tartanillas*, however, was tainted with the entry of *motorcabs* or *motorelas* (3/4-wheeled motor vehicles) in the mid 1960s. From a relatively modest number of 329 units in 1968, the total number of *motorelas* reached 2000 by 1978. There was an increase of 1671 units after ten years.²⁴

Local Elites

Local businessmen directed the economy of the city. Most of them came from Filipino-Chinese origins. They maintained to manage the city's hotels, groceries, milling stations, auto and construction supply shops, radio station, schools, and private hospitals. Most importantly they

were branded as influential families in the city. Some of these local elites and their enterprises are listed in Appendix 1.

Many of these local elites were allied with transnational companies from the first world countries. For instance, Pedro “Oloy” N. Roa, a non-Filipino Chinese, revealed in 1963 that he had a contract with the Philippine Packing Corporation to supply the latter *molave* lumber for the company’s cannery in Bugo. Roa earned millions of pesos from this contract that catapulted him to become one of the richest men in Misamis Oriental.²⁵

DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH

Cagayan’s population increased rapidly since the beginning of the 20th century. The only period of decline was between 1939 and 1948 during the Second World War; its population went down from 48,084 in 1939 to 46,266 in 1948. Thereafter it ascended swiftly: 1960, 68,274; 1970, 128,319; 1975, 165,220; 1980, 227,312.²⁶

Growth Rate

The population annual growth rate of Cagayan from 1948 to 1980 was constantly high. From 1948 to 1960 it was at 3.48 %. In the proceeding period from 1960 to 1970 it peaked to 6.37 %. Between 1970 and 1980 it slightly decreased to 5.89%. (Table 1)

Cagayan is a medium-sized city but its growth rate in all these periods exceeded the growth rate of Small and Intermediate Cities/SMCs and the national urban average of the Philippines.²⁷ The phenomenon of Cagayan’s growth can be attributed to the fact that it has performed better than most SMCs in the Philippines.

The United Nations reported that, since 1950, SMCs in developing countries such as the Philippines exhibited “slackening growth.”²⁸ SMCs in the regions of Visayas, Bicol, and Ilocos and in the frontier region of Mindanao and Cagayan Valley “performed poorly because they tended to be sapped by large cities” and they were not favored by sound economic climate due to weak economic policies.²⁹ On the contrary Cagayan revealed that its growth rate since 1948 was consistently greater than the other SMCs and the national urban average. Thus Cagayan is unique from the rest of the SMCs. The success of Cagayan’s demographic growth is seen in the massive streams of in-migrants coupled with large natural increase caused by high fertility and birth rates along with decelerating mortality rate.

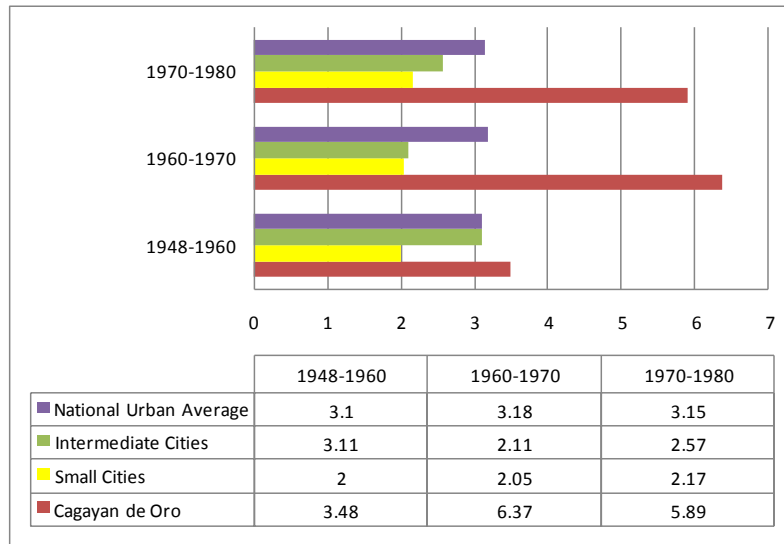


Table1. Annual Per Cent Population Growth Rates of Cagayan de Oro and Small and Intermediate sized Philippine Cities, 1948-1980 (Source: Ernesto M. Pernia, “The Performance and Prospects of Small and Intermediate Cities in the Philippines,” *Small Cities and National Development*, Ed. Om Prakash Mathur (Nagoya Japan: United Nations Centre for Regional Development, 1982, 126).

Fertility Rate

Madigan, in 1963, revealed that Cagayan exhibited high fertility as a result of women’s early age at marriage, a large number of children and strong marital union.³⁰ The 1963 survey further indicated that out of 2,000 married female respondents almost 45 per cent (44.7%) got married before they reached the age of 20 while close to 85 per cent (84.8%) married before their 25th birthday.³¹ The average age at marriage of women from the pre-war period to 1967 was 22.6 years.³²

The figures in 1963 shows that women who married between the ages of 15 and 19 had given birth to an average number of 7.3 children while those married at the ages between 20 and 24 had an average of 6.5 children.

Birthrate

Another feature of Cagayan’s demographic growth is high birthrates. The crude birthrate of the city centre from 1948 to 1962 was consistently high (Table 2). The average birthrate for every 1,000 persons was not less than forty-six. The birthrate from 1948-1952 was at its highest at 50 births per 1,000 persons. This was a result of the post-war situation where there was recall of children. From 1953 to 1962 or for a period of nine years, the birthrate averaged to 45.67 per thousand.

Calendar Year Periods	Birthrates per 1,000 persons
1948-52	50.6
1953-57	45.1
1958-62	46.8
1962	45.1

Table 2. Crude Birthrates for Selected Calendar Periods of Urban Cagayan de Oro 1948-1962

(Source: Francis Madigan S.J., *Birth and Death in Cagayan de Oro: Population Dynamics in a Medium-sized Philippine City*, (Manila: Ateneo University Press, 1972), 69).

In 1970 and 1975, the birthrate of Cagayan decelerated to an average of 39.08 births per thousand (Table 3). The vigorous effort of the government to curb the population took effect during this period. However, during the 1980s the birthrate of Cagayan accelerated once again to 44.30 births per thousand. This was due to the lenient implementation of the government's population policy.³³

Year	Birthrates per thousand
1970	39.63
1975	38.52
1980	44.30

Table 3. Crude Birthrates of Cagayan de Oro 1970-1980
(Source: Cagayan de Oro, *Socio-economic Profile: Cagayan de Oro 2000*, The City Health Department Project Evaluation Division in Cagayan conducted the statistical report).

Mortality Rate

While the birthrates of Cagayan were high; its mortality rate was low. The data of Madigan show very minimal rates of death from 1953-1962. The average mortality rate during this period was 6.43 deaths per 1,000 persons.

In-Migration

From the 1930s up to the 1960s thousands of in-migrants came from Luzon and the central and eastern Visayas regions. These in-migrants preferred to reside in the *poblacion* in order to work in the commercial district. They were characterized as “predominantly better-educated, more well-trained, and more wealthy class of persons than the native-born population” (Madigan, 1972:208). By the 1970s and 1980s the in-migration to Cagayan had reached its peak. It was estimated that from 1970 to 1984 the number of in-migrants totaled to 38,051. During this period the greater number of in-migrants came from the hinterlands of Bukidnon and Agusan. This pattern of rural to urban migration was due to the fact that the rural frontiers of Mindanao had lost its attractiveness

to potential migrants. Moreover, Cagayan was not affected by armed conflicts unlike the other places in Mindanao. Thus the city attracted new settlers.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Agrarian Economy

The economy of Cagayan throughout the 1940s and 1960s depended on agricultural production. The 1948 census reported 4,516 hectares of agricultural lands which included the area of home lot, cultivated land, pasture, and forest. The number of farms totaled to 1,178 and the total amount of crop and fruit production was Php 1,522,778.00 (1948 value).³⁴

The agricultural economy of Cagayan continued to grow in 1960. The city exported logs, fish, bananas, pineapples, corn, and fruits. Agricultural lands occupied a total area of 17,926.4 hectares with a total number of 2,941 farms.³⁵

At the onset of the seventies Cagayan's agricultural industry declined. The area of farmlands was reduced from 17,926 hectares in 1960 to 15,486 hectares in 1971. There was a reduction of 2,440 hectares within eleven years. The number of farms also declined from 2,941 in 1960 to 2,809 in 1971. The total income from crops fell as well from Php 6,198,337.00 in 1968 (1968 value) to Php 5,739,000.00 in 1971 (1971 value).³⁶ Due to the neglect of the agrarian agencies to provide support the agricultural prospects for the following decades turned out to be limited (Architects, Urban Designers, and Regional Planners, 1972:112). The government opted for industrial and commercial expansion rather than agricultural development because, as Reuben Canoy commented in 1963, "the trouble with agricultural development, however, is that it doesn't yield the same dramatic and impressive results that industry produces."³⁷

Year	Agricultural area	Number of farms	Total amount of crop and fruit production
1948	4,516 hectares	1,178	Php 1,522,778.00 (1948 value)
1960	17,926 hectares	2,941	
1968			Php 6,198,337.00 (1968 value)
1971	15,486 hectares	2,809	Php 5,739,000.00 (1971 value)

Table 4. Statistics of Cagayan's Agricultural Economy, 1948-

1971

Commercial and Industrial Growth

The area of commercial and industrial lands in 1968 comprised of 53.41 hectares or 8.32% of the 642 hectares of developed zone. It increased to 143 hectares in 1972 or by 168%. Four years later in 1976 it rose yet again to 323 hectares or by 126%.³⁸ In 1967 the business climate was described as “brisk” since there were 1,270 retail establishments that generated an annual gross sale of Php 7.4 million.³⁹ In 1968 there was a total of thirty-seven manufacturing plants which included sixteen construction firms, seven logging and saw milling companies, and a variety of other industrial companies, including a Coca-cola plant, Pepsi-Cola Plant, Esso Enterprise, Shell, Caltex, Getty Oil, Mindanao Water Corporation, Southern Motors, Firestone Plant, Cagayan Power and Light Company, Maria Cristina Sub-Station, Coffee de Oro Industries and the Philippine Packing Corporation.



Figure 2. Plaza Divisoria in 1962.
(Source: The City Archives, Cagayan de Oro).

Philippine Packing Corporation

The Philippine Packing Corporation or Philpak transplanted its operation to the Mindanao area, particularly in Northern Mindanao where its port and factory in Cagayan and huge plantations in the nearby area of Bukidnon were located, in order to profit from the resources, land and manpower.

Philpak has been monopolizing the production and export of canned pineapples, bananas, tomatoes and other fruits. These Bukidnon grown products were mainly for the consumption of the US, Japan and other countries. After the fruits were processed in the Philpak factories at Bugo in Cagayan they were directly shipped away to foreign markets.⁴⁰ The contract growing systems of Philpak effected enormous disadvantages to corporate and small-farmer growers in Bukidnon. The former managed the production loans, transportation and marketing; while the latter were left as provider of land, risk-taker, absorber of losses, export tax payer and laborers. The small-farmer

growers are the most disadvantaged victims because they faced the perpetual difficulty of obtaining credit and selling their harvests.⁴¹ The establishment of Philpak may have granted employment and benefits to a number of people but nonetheless it obviously took control over the land, production of resources and marginal sector of northern Mindanao.



Figure 3. The Philippine Packing Corporation plant in Bugo, Cagayan de Oro. (Source: Ministry of Finance Bureau of Customs. Profile Customs District X Cagayan de Oro, c1978, 29).

Foreign Volunteers

Foreign technocrat volunteers, who some have identified as political tools of foreign economic interests, were warmly accepted as well. In 1963, an American Peace Corps volunteer, Stanley Friedman, headed the urban planning of Cagayan, for example.⁴²

In 1972 Japanese Overseas Volunteers arrived in Cagayan, having been urgently requested by the local politicians to provide technical assistance in agro-industry.⁴³ This act of urgency, however, did not actually call for technical aid. The politicians' aim to boost the image of Cagayan as the "Gateway to the Southern Philippines" where foreign investors can establish their industrial plants was the real motive why there was the insistent demand for Japanese volunteers.

Canoy, American Foreign Aid and the Promotion of Cagayan

The arrival of foreign business ventures during the administration of Mayor Reuben Canoy from 1972 to 1976 signaled the expeditious industrialization of Cagayan. Canoy envisioned that the city to expand with the help of U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). In consequence Americans became involved in all projects ranging from the water systems to local administration and urban planning.⁴⁴

The city planning of Cagayan was one the most important schemes that the Americans suggested. Following the completion of the urban plan, Canoy promoted the city as a business destination. Subsequently, it generated rapid results. Multi-million factories such as the Agro-Industrial Pioneer Company, General Milling Corporation, Ferro Alloys, Philippines and Ferro-Chem, Philippine Iron Construction and Marine Works, Cagayan de Oro Oil Company, Legaspi Oil Company, Philippine Sinter Corporation, Pilipinas Kao Incorporated, RESINS Incorporated, and FILOIL were some the giant industrial plants established during the seventies. They were situated along the coast of Macajalar Bay up to the neighboring municipalities in Tagoloan and Villanueva where the biggest industrial estate in the country was located—the Phividec Industrial Authority.

Phividec Industrial Authority

The 3000 hectare Philippine Veterans Investment Development Corporation (PHIVIDEC) Industrial Authority was created under the façade of socio-economic development that was conceived to be made possible by the introduction of industrial and infrastructural facilities. The deposed President Ferdinand E. Marcos headed its creation under Presidential Decree No. 538 on August 13, 1974⁴⁵ to pave the way for the country's transformation into a modern neocolonial economy which would eventually fit into the new international division of labor wherein the Philippines would act as the supplier or producer of raw materials for foreign markets.

One clear example of this system was exemplified by the largest transnational entity in Phividec—the Philippine Sinter Corporation (PSC) whose main objective was the sintering of iron ores using local resources and laborers. Local resources such as limestones were extracted from the mining fields in Bohol after which they were processed into sintered ores to be shipped off to Chiba, Japan where the final production process took place turning the sintered ores into its finish products such as galvanized iron, steel bars and structural steels. In 1977, at the inaugural celebration of PSC, 151,555 tons of sintered ores were transported to Japan. PSC's operation left our country as producer and supplier of resources for Japanese consumption.⁴⁶

It is very evident that Cagayan's economic expansion depended on foreign investments. The deciding elites which comprised of powerful politicians and big-time businessmen allied with the first world countries and their transnational corporations in order to cooperate in supplying the latter with local resources by means of manipulating the laws, exploiting the people, resources and environment.

The proliferation of foreign ventures was made possible by the aggressive endorsement of Cagayan as the "Gateway to Southern Philippines." The campaign promised to result in a rise in the living standards of the mass of the people through the trickle-down effect. The promised

prosperity, however, did not spread to benefit the society. The standard of living depreciated in inverse proportion to the growth and prosperity of foreign investors and a limited local sector. The development of infrastructural projects in the city confirmed this outcome.

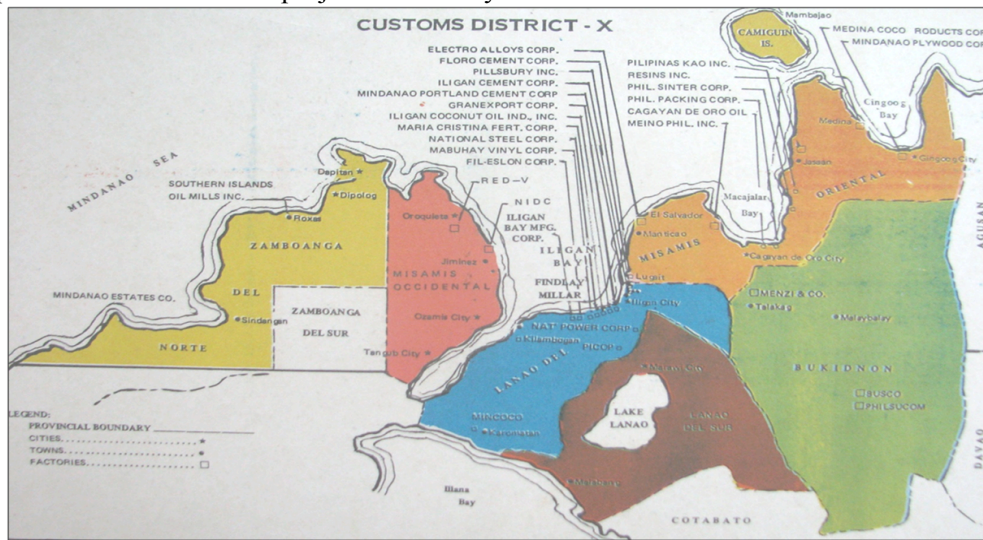


Figure 5
The corporations registered under the Customs District in Northern Mindanao in 1978. (Source: Ministry of Finance: Bureau of Customs).

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FORCES

The urban transformation of Cagayan was facilitated by internal and external forces. The natural growth of population and the domination of elites acted as the internal forces while the massive immigration and the entrance of transnational corporations to Cagayan provided the external forces. The expansion and change brought by these factors stimulated the city to be the regional centre in Northern Mindanao or the “Gateway to the South.”

CONCLUSION

The escalation of population, propagation of commercial and industrial activities brought rapid growth and transformation to Cagayan. However, the real beneficiaries of the city’s economic and infrastructural projects were the elites. They included the local politicians, big-time businessmen as well as the foreign investors who set up transnational corporations in the city and neighboring provinces. As a result, the growth of Cagayan was mainly directed towards the elites and their foreign allies. Cagayan experienced inertia in terms of infrastructural development. Therefore the absorption of foreign structures resulted to an artificial form of urban transformation in Cagayan.

Cagayan’s urban transformation is a microcosm of the Philippines. The population, economic and infrastructural expansion of Cagayan represents the growth of the Philippines particularly the post

Second World War period. Cagayan and the rest of the Philippines are continually bound to the economic policies of First World nations especially the United States. That is why the economic activities of the Philippines are subjected to the dominion of foreigners. Economic independence is not achieved by the Filipinos. Perhaps they feel and experience the consequences of foreign economic control given that the scourge of poverty, corruption and degradation plague the whole society particularly the in the cities. They are not, however, acutely conscious of how these foreign interests subtly exploit the natural resources, environment and people of the country and of the cities.

Appendix 1 -

<u>Name of Proprietor</u>	<u>Name of the Business Establishment</u>
1. Tan Leh	Philippine Lumber & Hardware & Auto Supply
2. Yu New Ah Fat	Ah Fat Bakery & Grocery
3. Chung Eng Sui	Cagayan Construction Supply, Sun Valley Lumber Company
4. Bienvenido Cruz	Biema Shoe Shop, The Mindanao Star, Pioneer Press
5. Go Pet Hong	Pet Hong Trading
6. Ang Teico	Ang Teico & Sons
7. Sia Ponso	Sia Ponso (Dealer in copra and abaca)
8. Anastacio Gabor	The Casino, Gabor Drug Store
9. Gaw Ka Sing	La Victoria Grocery
10. Santiago Ching Koe	New Cagayan Grocery
11. Lim Ket Kai	Lim Ket Kai Rice and Corn Mill
12. Teng Sin	Oriental Grocery
13. Felix Caburian	Santos Sales Store
14. Hap Hong	Hap Hong Corn and Rice Mill
15. S. Li	Li's Cosmopolitan Hotel
16. Mrs. Chin	Oro Palace Hotel
17. Jose Lim Tian Tia	Jose Lim Tian Tia Auto Supply and Spare Parts
18. Antonio Ty	Antonio Ty (Dealer of textiles)
19. Canoy Family	Radio Mindanao Network
20. Jose Benjamin Ong	BIGMA Enterprises
21. Santiago Goking	Goking Motors
22. Vicente Go	Vic Auto Parts

23. Rodolfo N. Pelaez	Liceo de Cagayan (now Liceo University), Doctor's General Hospital
24. Juan Sia	Juan Sia Enterprises
25. Henry T. Uy	Cagayan Universal Hardware
26. Elizabeth Goking	Ace de Oro Commercial
27. Tay Chin	Tay Chin Glass Store
28. Pedro "Oloy" N. Roa	Pedro N. Roa Enterprises, Inc.

Endnotes

¹ National Statistical Coordination Board, "Did you know that . . . the number of cities has more than doubled in thirty years?," available from www.nscb.gov.ph/factsheet/pdf07/FS-200712-PP2-01.asp, 2007; Internet; accessed 20 March 2008.

² Cities with a minimum population of two hundred thousand (200,000) inhabitants, as certified by the National Statistics Office, and with the latest annual income of at least Fifty Million Pesos (P50,000,000.00) based on 1991 constant prices, as certified by the city treasurer. Available from http://www.nscb.gov.ph/activestats/psgc/articles/con_cityclass.asp; Internet; accessed 10 December 2011. Cagayan de Oro city was designated as a Highly Urbanized City in November 22, 1983 by the Ministry of Local Government. Available from <http://www.cagayandero.gov.ph/index.php?page=about&cat=1>; Internet; accessed 10 December 2011.

³ A town that is sparsely populated, dominated by an agricultural economy, low technology and few infrastructures.

⁴ A city which is characterized by a dense population, new forms of technology, infrastructure and economic activities such as manufacturing, commerce and industrialization.

⁵ *Ika-22 Annibersaryo Hunyo 15, 1972 Adlaw sa Cagayan de Oro Theme: Ang Balangay Ug Kauswagan, Sponsored by the City Government of CDO*. The term "Gateway to the South" was originally coined by the broadcasters of Radio Mindanao Network (RMN) which is owned and managed by the Canoy family.

⁶ Carlos Maria de la Torre. *Decree Making Cagayan the Permanent Seat of the Segundo Distrito de Misamis, 1872*. Cagayan was made a permanent capital of Misamis, the Second District of Mindanao in February 27, 1872 under the rule of Spanish Governor-General Carlos Maria de la Torre. As a district capital, it was named Cagayan de Misamis.

⁷ Antonio J Montalvan II, *A Cagayan de Oro Ethnohistory Reader: Prehistory to 1950* (Cagayan de Oro: Legacy Sales & Printing Press Inc, 2004), 69-70.

⁸ Miguel Bernad, 'Book Review: MacArthur and the War in the Philippines', *Kinaadman Journal* 3 (1981), 308-315.

⁹ Bernad, 'Book Review: MacArthur and the War in the Philippines', 315.

¹⁰ Philippines. Presidential Decree No. 521. *An Act Creating the City of Cagayan de Oro*. 1950.

¹¹ "PSC to Inspect CEPALCO Service." *The Mindanao Star* (Cagayan de Oro), (24 January 1953), 3.

¹² Cagayan de Oro, *Minutes of the Municipal Board Series of 1972*, R.N. 12, "Resolution Requesting the Misamis Oriental Rural Electric Cooperative, Incorporated to extend its Power Lines to the Barrios of Pagatpat, Canitoan, Baikingon, San Simon and to all other Barrios in Cagayan."

¹³ 'Cepalco Letter to Customers', *The Mindanao Star* (Cagayan de Oro), (23 September 1978), 2.

¹⁴ 'Hiked electric rates loom in Cagayan de Oro: Cepalco defers action in NPC-dictated increases', *The Mindanao Star* (Cagayan de Oro), (24 June 1978), 1.

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